War

243 agricultural rite, they must make a sacrifice
782 at the very center. The main post is the place
778 for house and kampong offerings, and it is called pusat. I think the center of the circular rice field complex is also called the pusat.

115 The assistant's name is Cornelius Lawang.
624 He is from the va'u Pau, which is also the name of a kampong about one kilometer outside the town. His father is the tuan tanah there, and there he will spend tonight. He is his father's successor. Will he take the post? He said just about all tuan tanah (tua' tano') are pagan. But evidently they could be Christian, although a bit of trouble may rise when it comes to the ceremony.

582 I forgot to say that the mandur said it is possible to marry with one's mother's brother's daughter, but not with the other cousins, including father's sister's daughter, mother's sister's daughter, and father's brother's daughter. If so, this is interesting. He said that
[184] the Catholics forbid mother's brother's daughter marriages now. I must check on this.

567 We got onto the census matter with the assistant. This led to some new points. He said that they do have slaves here and said that he would indicate them in the census, but I must never tell, as this is never mentioned although
842 everyone knows about it. He said that they like
583 to have many children here, and if they have many they give a feast of thanks. (Evidently the more daughters the richer the family may become because of the bride prices. If the family consists of all boys, there is considerable trouble in getting enough goods for the bride prices. These bride prices are reckoned in terms of animals mostly. The mandur said there is trouble often in getting the price and that men who can't marry on this account are not

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842 too uncommon. If relatives help out in this
583 matter, they must be repaid.[1] The assistant
[602] said that if there are no children or if there
[597] are very few children, it often happens that a man buys a child, who then becomes one of his own. (From whom does he buy?)

565 The ranks are:
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1. Radja bangsawan
2. Dalu bangsawan (he says, since 1880) (Kraeng)
3. Gelarang bangsawan
4. Leke (commoners)
5. Mendi (slaves)

The first three may intermarry, either way. The last two may intermarry, also either way. Polygamist marriages are possible, and this goes even for the Christians who do so in order to have more children. He talked as though polygamy, if done for this purpose only, was not so bad. He is of the gelarang and his wife of dalu. The children are of gelarang.

624 Then we got onto the subject of the social
621 organization of Weol. He said that there is a
342 tuan tanah and also a second man, whom he will
534 explain later, as it is a long story. There is also a medicine man, and he is important in ceremonies. He will give me the posts of the kampong later on the sheets.

Weol has two offshoot kampongs. One is Tjantsia (where he lives) and the other is Tjara, on the next hill. The former has a tuan tanah tjabang (a branch tuan tanah). Incidentally,
[178] the present tuan tanah of Weol lives in a rectangular house, which was an unknown thing here before ten years ago. Even in this rectangular house, there is a main post or rather a place which serves as a main post, and here the tuan tanah sits as the center of rituals. The tuan tanah must have in the house a gong and a gendang

[1] [i.e., meeting the brida price --Analyst]

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614 happened is that as the va'u became larger and
582 spread out, even over the whole gelarang,
178 exogamy became more difficult, and also the relationships linking the individuals in this area became more and more distant. Thus they gradually began to disregard clan exogamy. Indeed, since the whole gelarang Weol is nearly all one clan, I can see the point.

582 One must marry a mother's brother's daughter
797 (see later). But it is taboo to marry a father's
177 sister's daughter or parallel cousins. The as-
[124] sistant uses standard anthropological symbols, showing the effect of having worked with van Bekkum.[1] The priests try to discourage mother's brother's daughter marriages, but they always give dispensation. Thus they are less harsh in this matter than they are in Larantuka. I get the idea that the priests here are less firm regarding the old adat in general than in Larantuka. This is probably because it is a relatively new field, and the Catholics go slowly and gradually in destroying what is old. The dodge they use here is special dispensation. This is weird stuff in regard to acculturation.

583 The bride price is paid in buffaloes and
231 horses only, except for money. The return gift,
301 which is not nearly so large as the bride price, is in ornaments, and is given by the girl's
842 family to the boy's. The people want children
611 of both sexes, as they want the price for the
583 girls, and the boys to carry on the line. If
591 the family consists of girls only, the people
614 say that the parents have no children. There is no real ambil anak here. A man lives with his wife's family until the bride price is paid. This may take ten years or he may never pay the bride price, but the children belong to his va'u. Thus there is matrilocal residence although descent is patrilineal.

872 A school was started in Tjantjar only two and
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[1] [Pastor at Ruteng; see also bibliography, cat. 113 - Analyst]

War

684 out, one or both could be killed. (He said that usually one escaped.) (I didn't ask about widows, but must do so.)

659 Note: Formerly, no vital statistics were kept here. Only since the war have they bothered to keep a record of births, and deaths. They still do not record marriages.

842 534 556 857 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is for him. A man feels big if his family is large. It is fine to have twenty children. They have no idea at all of limitation, or that it might even be conceivable. If a man has no children it is cause for terrific shame. This applies even if he has only a few. They like boys and girls, and perhaps boys even a bit more than girls. Girls bring in tusks, but this is not all gain, because the family must pay a return gift. The boys, however, work in the fields and thus bring in a certain income. In addition, if there are lots of boys and thus a large family income, the family can buy tusks.

Thus the girls get tusks, weave, and cook; but the boys work and bring to the family an income and keep the group name going (and in the old days were probably good for warfare).

181 The word hasil is very important here. It means product, and this is the center of their life. Everything is judged in terms of hasil, and even religious and ritual leaders are judged by their hasil. If they produce, they are all right. If they do not, something is wrong. And these profits, or income, or produce, include food, children, tusks, magic, etc. This is a wide concept. They want lots of hasil, and of all kinds.

721 789 I asked about war in the old days and how any of the kampongs could fight the traditional enemy Riang Kamië when it was always so much bigger. The kepala kampong looked significantly

721 at me and raised his brows, saying, "Ah, but
789 you are forgetting the kekuatan adjaib. It was not a matter of men alone." I am accepted as one who can appreciate the magical things. In this case he was pointing to "those intangible factors which mean so much in warfare."

• 842 There are no limitations on the number of children in a family. There is not even a conflict here with the church. He did say, however, that they know or think they know a medicine (at least he has heard that some women know about this) which might limit the number of children a woman could have (or did I say this?). Anyway, it is unthinkable.

[614] The bigger the family the better it is. A
[534] big family, ama or suku makes its members cocky. As Roy says, he is a member of Hurint, the biggest sib here, and he would like to see the so and so who would try anything on him. He would have to settle with the group. Thus numbers mean strength all along the line.

162 The average size of the family here is about
178 eight individuals. Formerly, about fifty per
165 cent of the children did not grow up. Now they
758 nearly all live (I doubt this, but evidently the change has been so dramatic with the introduction of modern medicine and cleanliness that it seems this way). I asked why, and they at once said new medicines and cleanliness.

355 Women do most of the upbringing. The father,
368 for example, just looks on once in awhile. The
178 mother is the crux, as well as other women. Later on, boys learn to work from their father and girls learn their tasks from their mother. The only change in all this is the school and church, especially of course the former.

581 There has been no significant change in the
178] concept of a "suitable man or wife." So little has the pressure for mere existence lessened that appearance and looks are minor. First of

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587 moved out of the girl's house, a man must pay another price for her sister. If they have not yet moved out (for example, the guru still lives in the house of his wife's father, the head guru), no bride price is paid, and the father gives a sister free.

601 587 835 Now, note the beauty of the kinship terms here. I had wondered why the terms ari and ka'e were restricted to: brother (man speaking), sister (woman speaking), sister-in-law (man speaking), brother-in-law (woman speaking), wife's sister (man speaking), husband's brother (woman speaking), brother's wife (man speaking), and sister's husband (woman speaking). The fact is that the terms mean, not really sibling, but these relations and these linkages only. The connotation is that one can marry his or her ari or ka'e, while the real brother and sister terms (nara, veta) mean a marriage taboo. Thus the levirate and sororate are beautifully reflected in these terms. Where the terms are used for persons of the same sex, they cause no trouble, because marriage here is impossible anyway. Perhaps the truth is that they mean brother and sister, in a way, but since they have to have other terms to indicate ones who cannot be married, they have also the terms nara and veta. The edja and ipa terms, the other ones for cousins, make no difference, as they also are used for persons of the same sex.

842 578 181 The belief here is that the more children one has the better it is. They are sad if they have only a few children. They like children of both sexes for different reasons. Boys are good to work in the gardens (and can develop new land) and are good in standing up for their father (a relic of the old war days, but even now in an argument it is good to have a big gang, and as they say, "You can trust only your

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842 family." This shows [a] the belligerent nature
181 of these people and [b] their distrust of most
[578] other people). Girls are good for weaving, house work, and for the bride price that they bring in. When I pressed the matter, they said that perhaps it was better actually to have a few more girls than boys, because of the money they bring in. This is different from Larantuka, and perhaps shows the greedy nature of these folk. They don't like all girls or all boys.

842 They have no knowledge or idea of limiting the number of children. As usual I told them about birth control in the United States, and they were very much surprised. They seem to have heard vaguely that there may be some sort of medicine used to prevent having children, but they never think of using it.

163 They are unclear, but they think that the
178 average number of births per woman is between five and six. This may reflect the late marriage age here. Of these, three or four live (perhaps the population here is indeed relatively stationary). They think there has been little change in this regard, and this may be true, as it seems to be about as dirty and uncared for medically as it was before, or at least there has been no great improvement. They said that a great number of children die in infancy.

855 There was a chorus of agreement to the ef-
887 fect that the mother is the important one here. The father is away working all the time. Old women help in caring for the children.

584 There is no modern courtship. Intermediaries are used.

581 Although they do not like ugly women in a showdown, the ugly worker wins over the pretty drone. In fact, they think first about her skill as a worker and second in terms of her

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586 another wife.

586 684 562 In the case of adultery on the part of a woman, a fine must be paid to the grieved husband. The wife pays only a little, her paramour a lot. In the case of a man committing adultery, there is no fine or punishment of any sort. The wife may be angry, but that is all.

A man may divorce an errant wife, but there is no bride price return. This just about never occurs. A man is satisfied with the fine.

Adat here does not allow for killing an adulterous couple caught in the act. This may be done later, but it is still not allowed, and not condoned. The payment of a fine is the thing here.

If a divorce is requested by a man, there is no repayment of the bride price, and he must pay one horse. If a wife asks for a divorce, the price must be repaid. The children always stay with the father's family.

●842 The people here like many children; the more the better. There is no set limitation. When I talk about birth control, often, all over they say about condoms that they are "like the Japanese use." He was surprised about other methods of birth control. Until now there has been no thought of limitation.

[163] Cornelius says that about ten children are born per woman, but only about half or a little more live to adulthood. Sons are more important. If a couple has only one child, they prefer a son. A few more sons than daughters are wanted. Va'u and bride price considerations are important.

868 When the children are very young the mother takes care of their education. Then the children follow the parent of the same sex and learn their roles and work.

584 178 There is just about no courtship. Formerly marriages were all prearranged. Now, most frequently the young people tell their parents

1 [i.e., the assistant--Analyst]